1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

PHONETIC NOTE

104 The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel *ʌ* is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ć is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
č is the equivalent of English *ch*.
ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
ɨ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
ř is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
š is the equivalent of English *sh*.
ć', *č'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.
f, *l*, and *r* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

[p, x ɛ]

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[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the [263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*, [278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col- [252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 412 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104]

[2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

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they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild hay (?), baya (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *oneis*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[p.15a]

37 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is
[492] dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and taken into town on muleback.

333 Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles (*"kuinomo"*)* or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Paricutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[104]

* Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p.223a]

243 nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

[text continues on top of p. 223b]

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[text continues on middle of p. 223b]

GLOSSARY

● 104 The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

Ades (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.

Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *maguey*. In the United States, called the century plant.

Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.

Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugarcane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.

Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

[text continues on bottom of p. 223b]

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[p.223b] Sierra Tarascans

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Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdorf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

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Arriero, a muleteer.

Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.

Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.

Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.

Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.

Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.

Barrio, a ward or division of a town.

Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.

Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.

Cabildo, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the ácos.

Calsones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Cantina, a saloon.
Cápata, a tamale made from amaranth.
Carales, a small dried fish.
Carga, a somewhat indefinite measure, often a burro load.
Carguero, a *mayordomo*, a person who has taken responsibility for a saint's image for a year.
Castillo, a set piece of fireworks on a tall pole.
Catrín, urban or citified, particularly applied to clothes.
Centavo, a cent, or one-hundredth of a peso.
Centímeter, one-hundredth of a meter.
Charanda, a drink distilled from sugarcane.
Charape, a ceremonial drink, usually made of *pulque*.
Chayote, a lush-growing vine and the edible fruit it bears.
Chilecayote, a type of squash.
Cherimoya, the anona, a fruit.
Cohete, an explosive rocket used in fiestas.
Cohetero, fireworks maker.
Comadre, the godmother of one's child.
Comal, a lenticular dish used for baking tortillas.
Comisionado, a person who has been commissioned by the authorities to perform some task in connection with municipal affairs or a fiesta. May also be named by the priest or by ceremonial organizations.
Compadrazgo, the system of relationships set up through the godparent custom.
Compadre, godfather of one's child.
Copal, the gum of the long-needled tropical pine (*Pinus montezumae*).
Corales, tubular red glass beads worn by every woman in native costume.
Cuartel, a *barrio*, or division of a town.
Cuelgas, ornaments hung from ropes, poles, or about the neck of participants in some ceremonies.
Curato, the residence of the priest.
Curipe (T), a highly seasoned broth containing cabbage and chunks of boiled beef.
Fanega, a Spanish dry measure which has various values in different parts of Mexico. In Cherán, the fanega appears to equal 90.8 dry quarts.
Garabanzos, chickpeas.
Gordos, flat thickish cakes fried in lard, usually of ground corn but sometimes of wheat flour.
Guaraches, sandals.
Guavas, a fruit.
Habas, the broadbean.
Hectarea, a land measure of 2.47 acres, or 10,000 square meters.
Jefe de defensa, chief of the local militia.
Junta, any meeting of a town or organized body.
Kéŋi (T), an official connected with the *cabildo* and the church who does errands and looks after the church and church properties.
Kurúnda (T), a tamale made of steamed *nixtamal* wrapped in maize leaves.
Litro, a liter, a liquid measure.
Maestro, a school teacher; a lay reader.
Maguey, the *agave* plant.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.2246]

Malpais, an old lava flow.
Mano, the smaller milling stone held in the hands.
Manta, cheap unbleached muslin.
Manzana, a block or square in a town.
Mayordomía, the entire process of caring for a saint's image, arranging for the Mass and other ceremonies involved by tradition.
Mayordomo, *carguero;* a person who is responsible for the care of a saint's image for a year.
Metate, the lower or stationary milling stone.
Meter, a measure of 39.37 inches.
Mole, a common highly seasoned and complicated sauce used on meat; also a meat dish served in mole sauce.
Moro, a type of dancer common in Michoacán.
Munícipe, a *regidor* or city councilman.
Municipio, an administrative area somewhat like a county or parish.
Negritos, dancers wearing black wooden masks who appear at Christmas.
Nixtamal, dough made by grinding maize after it is soaked in lye.
Nopal, the prickly pear cactus plant.
Očépos (T), a sweet tamale.
Olla, water jar of pottery.
Panalero, a person who collects wild honey.
Pan dulce, wheat-flour bread with sweetening added.
Papaya, a subtropical fruit.
Peso, a Mexican silver coin.
Pinole, flour made by grinding parched maize.
Plan, plain; a large level cultivated area.
Portales, covered sidewalks, the outer edge of the roof supported by pillars.
Posole, maize soaked in lye and then cracked into small pieces.
Pulque, fermented juice of the *agave*, or *maguey*. (See *Agave*.)
Raíz de paja, a root which is dried and used to make scrubbing brushes.
Ramada, a rectangular unwalled structure primarily for the purpose of affording shade.
Rebozo, a shawl worn by women.
Regidor, a member of the city council.
Relata, the text which is recited at a dance.
Representante del pueblo, an official who looks after community property in lands and forests.
Reserva, an authorized armed militia.
Rezador, a person who recites prayers for a small fee.
Riata, a long rope used in handling horses and cattle.
Rollo, the native skirt with the thick band of pleats across the back.
Ronda, the night watch, or volunteer police.
Secretario, the town clerk or secretary.
Serape, a blanket, usually ornamented, and with an opening so that it may be worn over the head as a poncho.
Solar, a town lot.
Suplente, the alternate for an office in the government.
Tabla, a plank.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

● 104 **Tamale**, a food made of maize, often mixed with other ingredients, wrapped in maize leaves or maize husks, and steamed.

Tejamanil, wooden shakes.

Tejocote, a tree bearing a sloelike fruit much like a crab apple; the fruit of such a tree.

Tenencia, a settlement of some size which is administered by a representative of the *municipio*.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Tortillas, thin flat cakes of maize dough baked on an ungreased griddle, or *comal*.
Troje, the Tarascan storehouse, the largest structure in a Tarascan house group, as a rule.
Tuna, the fruit of the *nopal* cactus, or prickly pear.
Veleria, a religious celebration at which candles are burned.
Viajero, a traveling merchant.
Zapote, a tropical fruit resembling a plum.

[p. 226 is blank]

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2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 3]
[P. 2 Contains no Text]

PREFACE

The author wishes to express his thanks to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (formerly The Viking Fund) for a predoctoral fellowship under which the library research and a substantial part of the writing of this paper were done, as well as to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which allowed the completion of the manuscript.

In writing Tarascan words we use the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas in 1939. It follows Spanish usage in so far as possible.

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in Spanish. ʌ is a high central vowel.

The consonants b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t have Spanish values.

- ȼ is pronounced like Spanish *ts*
- č is pronounced like Spanish *ch*
- z is pronounced like English *dz*
- ǰ is pronounced like English *j*
- ŋ is pronounced like English *ng* in sing. In the Lake dialects it becomes *n*.
- r appical flap, like Spanish *r* in *cara*
- ɹ coronal flap
- š is pronounced like English *sh*
- p', t', etc. are aspirated

PEDRO CARRASCO

March, 1952

GLOSSARY

104

Agrarismo. Agrarista movement or ideas.

Agraristas. Peasants who received lands under the terms of the post-revolutionary agrarian reforms (usually from haciendas). In many Tarascan villages this term is also applied to peasants who did not receive lands from the government but who nevertheless organized themselves to occupy lands taken from the community or from private landholders.

Alcalde. In colonial times, the mayor of a Spanish or Indian town.

Cabildo. In colonial times, the town council (and perhaps also, sodality council). Presently, the non-official group of cargueros and former cargueros in charge of the ceremonial organization.

Cargo. Yearly office in the religious organization of a town. It usually implies sponsorship of a saint's festival.

Carguero. Person holding a cargo.

Catrín. Person in city clothes. This term refers particularly to clothes but it also conveys the idea of a wealthy non-Indian city-dweller.

Compadres. Godparents of one's child or the parents of one's godchild.

Corregidor. In colonial times, the government official with authority over a city or provincial subdivision.

Ejidatario. Ejido member.

Ejido. In colonial times, the communal pasture lands of a village. Since the agrarian reforms after the Revolution, this term is applied to lands distributed to peasants for their use but with title held in common by the community of ejido members.

Hospital. Originally, hospital supported by a sodality and the sodality itself. This sodality also organized a substantial part of the religious cult and this function became the predominant one. Thus, hospital means today a ceremonial group and its chapel.

Japiqua (Tarascan). The king or owner of an animal species (usually fish or cattle); also, an animal which excretes coins. Often identified or connected with the Devil.

Jefe político. Chief authority of a district during the Porfirio Díaz regime.

K'uaɨri (Tarascan). Giants, legendary people who lived before the advent of Christianity.

Mayordomía. Office of a mayordomo.

Mayordomo. Originally, steward of a sodality. Presently sponsor of the festival to some saint; also, one of the officers in the hospital. Mayordomo is not synonymous with carguero. Carguero is the general term for religious officer; only certain cargueros are also called mayordomo.

Pindecuario (Spanish from Tarascan). In colonial times, a list of the financial obligations of a village and its officers toward the financing of the Church and its festivals.

Priosta. Main officer of the hospital.

Principales. Originally, Indians of noble status. Today elders or members of the cabildo.

Regidor. A member of the town council.

Semanero. A lesser official of the hospital, serving for a specified number of weeks.

Sinarquista. The Catholic, nationalist party (or a member of the party) which is strong among the peasants.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5(1940-1942)1944
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PHONETIC NOTE

104

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The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel *ʌ* is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ʧ is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
č is the equivalent of English *ch*.
ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing".
ɾ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
ř is equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
š is equivalent of English *sh*.
ʧ', *č'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.
f, *l*, and *ř* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

[p. ٨٤]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

104 Tarascan words are written in the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

342 Two clearly defined types of construction exist in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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PHONETIC NOTE

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The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ʦ is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
č is the equivalent of English *ch*.
ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
ǰ is the equivalent of French *j*.
ɾ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
ř is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
š is the equivalent of English *sh*.
ž is the equivalent of English *z*.
ʦʻ, *čʻ*, *kʻ*, *pʻ*, and *tʻ* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.

243 to the lower point of the frame. This instrument
412 stirs, rather than turns, the soil to a depth of less than 6 inches. Within the last 50 years many Tarascans have used a small adaptation of the North European moldboard plowshare for breaking new land and for first and second plowings. For planting and cultivating maize the moldboard (which is slipped over the end of the plow frame) is replaced by the *reja*. As mentioned above, in recent years the Mexican government has supplied a number of American steel plows to various
243 Tarascan municipios.

[231] Oxen are used almost exclusively to pull the plow, to which they are hitched by the horn yoke. Mules and horses sometimes supplement oxen during maize cultivation, when the work must be done quickly. Before being planted, maize fields are plowed, this operation being called *barbecho*. In the Sierra the *humedad* maize lands in the plains are plowed twice, once in late summer and again in late winter. Temporal maize fields located outside the Sierra undergo only one plowing—in late May or early June, immediately before the rains. For planting, rows are formed with the plow equipped with the straight *reja*. Usually rows follow the contour on slopes. Two to three seeds are dropped at 1-foot intervals into the furrow by a boy following the plow and driver. Often the boy covers the seed with earth to a depth of 3 or 4 inches with a sweep of his foot. If animals are available, the first plow is followed by a second, which covers the grain by throwing earth from the interfurrow ridge (pl. 5). This plow is often equipped with a horizontal beam (*orejera*), placed back of the *reja*, which rakes earth into the furrow. Maize is normally cultivated (earth thrown toward the plant and weeds eradicated) twice with the plow, once when the plant is about 1½ feet high (*escarda*) and again when the plant begins to tassel (*segunda*). There-
[412] after, fields are weeded by hand or with the hoe. Zacatón (a form of Johnson grass) is cut with the *judi*, a machetelike sickle, similar to the *garabato* of the *tierra caliente*.[88]

412 Several forms of the pre-Columbian planting
243 stick are still used in the maize fields of the Sierra (fig. 3). These instruments, called meiánta-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 389—ANALYST]

[104] [88] The Sierra Tarascans use many terms to describe maize in its various stages of growth. When the plant is about 4 inches high (2 weeks after planting), it is called pirán; at 1½ feet (ready for the *escarda*), káni or tapíta; when in tassel, pípita; when ears are in hair, tusáni or tusíqiti.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uc̣ɹukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uɹ́ukarɹ́kua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarɹ́ndukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarɹ́ndukua šanɹ́ri.*

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *sirɹ́ŋgua.* An official called the *kiéɲi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéɲi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúc̣perani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uɹ́ukuni.* The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atɹ́ɹukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atɹ́ɹutɹ́kua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apɹ́sikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.